

## COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1819.

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TO

## THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

*On the present State of the Country,  
and on the Measures proposed to be  
adopted at the present time.*

London, 8th December, 1819.

MY LORD,

Some years ago I had the honour to address a pretty long series of letters to His Royal Highness the Regent and to yourself, first beseeching you not to begin a war with the United States of America, and, when you had begun it, to make peace with that country as soon as possible. If my advice had been followed upon that occasion, it would, as is now notorious, have spared this country an immeasurable quantity of disgrace, and would have made the Debt, called national, fifty millions, at the very least, less than it now is. This is a fact notorious and acknowledged: known to every one conversant with politics, and denied by no one, who is conversant in that way, and who has the smallest regard for truth. Imagine not, my Lord, that I suppose, that the recollection of these things will have produced in the minds of you and your colleagues a disposition to listen to me and to attend to my reasoning and advice upon the present occasion. I know too well the workings of passion combined with power; I know too well the workings of that false pride which shuts our ears and blinds our eyes to that which at once produces conviction in minds where that pride does not exist: I know too well that you and your colleagues and the two houses of Parliament have long seen that it is a plain question before the nation, whether my principles and my proposed measures shall be adopted or whether yours shall be adhered to: shun the avowal as

long as you will, sheer off from the point of contact with what art you may, use allusions in place of names with what perseverance you like: still, after all, every man who has turned his attention to these matters, not only in this kingdom but in America and in France, also, knows well that the grand question now at issue in this great country is, whether your system shall be persevered in, or Cobbett's system adopted in its stead. I know too well how far false pride will carry men; I have witnessed too many of the fatal effects of that false pride, to entertain the smallest expectation that passed experience will induce you to listen to, much less to adopt, any propositions coming from me. But, this I know, that the impression which has been made upon your system is chiefly to be attributed to my perseverance, to which the nation owes, that it understands, at any rate, the causes of its sufferings.

I shall, therefore, not be discouraged from going on in the same path that I have hitherto travelled in; and shall, upon the present occasion, take the liberty to address to you some remarks upon what I find in the Courier newspaper of the first instant, purporting to be a report of speeches, delivered by your Lordship, Lord Grenville and Lord Castlereagh.

On the state of the country, Lord Grenville is reported to have said that that state appeared to him to be more perilous than he had ever known it before. His Lordship, referring to the writings of Burke, which he called *immortal*, said that he agreed in opinion with Burke, that the causes of the discontents of the country existed *before* the epoch of the French Revolution. Now, my Lord, I fully agree as to this point in opinion with Lord

Grenville. But, before I make further remark upon the real origin of the present troubles of this kingdom, let me observe that the very name of Burke; the very name of that man, whose main object was to crush all hope of Parliamentary Reform by urging the country into a war against the then limited monarchy of France, which had adopted a system of free elections; that the very mention of the name of that man was calculated to awaken a train of ideas, which would naturally have terminated in a conviction that all his views were false. Because, the very sentence, into which his name is introduced, told their assembled Lordships that the man who was uttering that sentence, had found by experience, that a twenty-six years' war and a Debt of eight hundred millions, together with rivers of blood and suffering such as the world never before beheld, had not at all tended to produce the effect which Burke had proposed to effect; for that the country was now more discontented and the people were more hostile to the existing system, than they were previous to the commencement of the war against France. It is said, that there is no mind able to resist the dictates of a *life of experience*. This, however, appears to admit of exceptions; for, we have had a life of experience. The last sixty years have been employed in endeavours on the part of the seat-patrons in England to uphold a system of taxation without representation. This is still the ground of struggle. And, as my Lord Grenville truly says, the parties are certainly more irritated and more determined than at any former period.

His Lordship, with a view, as I suppose, to shew that peace or that plenty or prosperity had little to do with the matter, observed, in the words of Burke, that the causes of discontent had arisen *before* the French Revolution. True; but Lord Grenville omitted to say *what those causes were*, and *when they had arisen*. I will, therefore, take the liberty to do this, and when I have done it I think it

will be as clear as day-light that there are only two ways of producing content and tranquillity in England; namely, first a *Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament*; second, an *absolute destruction of a considerable portion of the people, or a holding of them in a state of the most abject slavery by the means of an armed force*; and, as this last makes one's blood curdle in one's veins but to think of it, I shall not suppose that any man has yet screwed up his nerves to a contemplation of the enterprize, and shall, therefore, still hope that the first-mentioned course will be adopted.

The ground of complaint with the people of England has existed from the date of the *Septennial Bill* to this day. But, before taxes were severely felt, the effects of non-representation were not perceived. It was not 'till the burthen became heavy; 'till it began to make the back ache and to ring the shoulders that men troubled themselves much about the causes which had led to the creation of the burden. It was not 'till the excise system was introduced that the people of England seemed to care so much about who were the members of their Commons' House. When wars on account of Dutch and German quarrels had rendered the burden heavy, the people began to look about for the causes. In order to shift the burden in part from their own shoulders the English nobility and gentry, who were all-powerful in the Parliament, conceived the project of bringing the American colonies under the grasp of taxation; and, a very large portion of the people of this kingdom, were, at the outset, deluded into an approbation of this project. Many attempts were made to introduce as it were, by stealth, the hand of taxation into the American pocket. But, a sagacious people were not to be deceived and cheated, and a brave people were not to be bullied or beaten, out of their rights, their liberty, and their property.

Divested of all its minor circumstances, the great question was, whe-



ther the colonists would submit to taxation without representation; whether they would submit to be taxed, either directly or indirectly, by a Parliament to which they sent no Members, or whether they would not. The Parliament said they should; the Americans said they would not. This was the question at issue; a question that at last came to be decided by the sword; and that decision, to the everlasting praise of the people of America, was decided in behalf of the proposition, of *no taxation without representation*.

As my Lord Grenville introduced the name of Burke, suffer me, my Lord, to introduce that of the man who put this Burke to shame, who drove him off the public stage to seek shelter in the pension-list, and who is now named fifty million times where the name of the pensioned Burke is mentioned once. The cause of the American colonies was the cause of the English Constitution, which says that no man shall be taxed without his own consent, given by himself or given by some one in the choosing of whom he has had a free voice. But, it was an English Exciseman; a petty officer in the Excise in Sussex, who, having gone to America, gave life, activity, vigour and final success to this cause. It is not improbable that Mr. Paine might have received insolent treatment from some ignorant, conceited, unjust and brutal superior in office. It is not improbable that in contemplating the characters and the actions of persons in power he might have swelled with indignation against a system that could place and keep power in such hands. A little thing sometimes produces a great effect; an insult offered to a man of great talent and unconquerable perseverance has in many instances, produced, in the long run, most tremendous effects; and, it appears to me very clear that some beastly insults, offered to Mr. Paine, while he was in the Excise in England, was the real cause of the Revolution in America; for, though the nature of the cause of America was such as I

have before described it; though the principles were firm in the minds of the people of that country; still, it was Mr. Paine, and Mr. Paine alone, who brought those principles into action.

The American war was a war, on the part of the Parliament, for taxation without representation. It failed, and in this failure was established in the minds of the people of his Kingdom their right to pursue the proper means of obtaining a representation for themselves in Parliament. The burden of the taxes became also now enormously increased. This led to more numerous and more eager enquiries with regard to the cause of the burden. This cause was soon found in the want of a representation of the people in Parliament; or, at least, so said Mr. Fox, so said Mr. Pitt, so said Mr. Wilberforce, so said many others. Mr. Pitt himself having distinctly declared in his place in Parliament that, without a Reform of the Commons' House, it was impossible for the King's Ministers to be honest men. The Duke of Richmond co-operated with Mr. Pitt, and he actually went so far as to bring a Bill into the House of Lords for making the Parliaments Annual and the Suffrage Universal. In the year 1793 and during the previous two years, the subject came to be more and more a subject of importance and of interest. The movements of the Reformers became more frequent and more determined; and it was at this time that war, at the suggestion of Burke, was urged on against France with a view of totally preventing free government or any thing like free government being held up by the French as an example wherewith to provoke and tantalize the great mass, the un-represented mass of the people of England.

Therefore, my Lord, I perfectly agree with my Lord Grenville that the great cause of the present discontents of the people, and of his Lordship's great alarm, existed anterior and long anterior to the French revolution; and, let it

to all those who ~~are~~ the Reformers imitators and followers of the French Revolutionists. The cause has always been the same it was at work in America fifty years ago; it was at work in England at the same time; it had Wilberforce, Pitt and the Duke of Richmond carrying it on from the year 1786 to the year 1785; it had the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Grey, Mr. Tierne and hundreds of others, then thought to be men of great talent and wisdom, carrying it on in the year 1793; during the war against France, its operation was suspended in a great measure; but the moment that war had ceased the cause resumed its former character, and it has gone on from that time to this, in spite of more numerous and more powerful obstacles than ever was before opposed to any cause in the world; it has gone on gathering strength as well with regard to the talents as to the numbers of its advocates.

Let us hear no more, then, about Parliamentary Reform being a spawn of the French Revolution; which Revolution, (in its *first form*) on the contrary, sprang out of the principles of Parliamentary Reform, which principles had been so gloriously acted upon in America. I perceive that there are Members of Parliament to say that the Reformers wish for a destruction of the constitution and for the establishment of a new sort of government. It is easy to say this, but it is, I am persuaded, quite impossible to prove it. Nevertheless, the Reformers must amount to some millions in number; and if they do entertain any such notions as these, is it likely that they will be induced to abandon these notions in consequence of a further and most terrible abridgement of their rights and liberties. Nothing short of a most extensive and almost universal feeling of discontent against the existing system could possibly justify even the talking about such measures as those that have been proposed; and if discontent to this extent do exist, would not the rational

tiently into the causes of that discontent, and to see whether, by the means of conciliation, the people would be restored to content, and to confidence in the government?

It has, for a long while, been alledged, that the demagogues, as they are called, take advantage of the distresses of the people to spur them on to expressions of discontent. But this allegation is wholly incompatible with the acknowledgement now made, that is to say, that the cause of the discontent existed anterior to the French Revolution. However, supposing the distresses of the country to be great, as, indeed, we know they are, and supposing them to be the cause of a large part of the present discontent, does it not become those who have the power in their hands, to think about the means of lessening those distresses? There is a new doctrine which appears to have been invented for the present critical season; namely, that the ministers and the Parliament, having had nothing to do in causing the distress, cannot, of course, do any thing to diminish it! The major of this proposition is, in my opinion, wholly false, but, if it were true, the conclusion would be ridiculous in the extreme; for though I had no hand in the granting of Burke's posthumous pensions, I would, if I were a minister or a member of Parliament, very quickly do something in order to put an end to those pensions. This new doctrine would lead to the adoption of the notion, that no one can undo any thing which he has not done or assisted in doing; and, of course, that a man could not kill a sheep unless he had reared it, or eat a pie unless he had made it.

The humility; the humbleness; the lowliness of this new doctrine is truly amiable, especially in a body, which has been called, and which has called itself *omnipotent*, and which, indeed, is now doing things, which, if done, will argue very little want of force. The parliament has been able to make a Debt amounting to three times as much as all the real money in the



whole world : it has been able to contract a Debt of about *a thousand millions*, to be paid by a country, the whole of the property of which Mr. Curwen (one of its members) states at *three hundred millions* : it has been able to keep up an enormous standing army in time of peace : it has been able to protect the Bank of England, and, through it, all other Banks, from paying in specie : it has been able to pass laws to empower a Secretary of State to put men into dungeons at his discretion : it has been able to do a great many other things, which the people will remember ; but, it seems, that it has *no power to diminish the distresses* of the country ! It can lay taxes on ; but, it would seem, that it cannot take taxes off !

I am clear in the conviction, that the evils, manifold and great as they are, and which this country has now to endure, are the consequence of measures adopted by the Parliament, during the last twenty seven years. But before I proceed further I will insert a passage from the report of your Lordship's speech ; a passage too striking, not to call forth particular notice. It was as follows :

" He did not then mean to enter into the cause of those disturbances, but he would ask how the distresses of the country could be made ground of inquiry into those proceedings ? If the Noble Marquis or the Noble Earl meant to say that those distresses arose out of the measures adopted by Government or Parliament, then he would admit that inquiry was necessary—if they meant, further, to urge, that though Parliament had not caused those distresses, yet that they had the power to alleviate them, that he should admit as a ground of inquiry. But he could not understand how Parliament either caused or could remedy the existing distresses of the country. If an issue of the Exchequer Bills were expedient at this moment, he could easily prove to the House that they were not necessary. He knew no remedy which could, at present,

" be effectually applied to the commercial regulations of the country, or any material advantage which could be derived from any such. Parliament had not, in any way, been instrumental to those distresses ; they grew out of circumstances over which it had no controul. They grew out of the former wealth and prosperity of the country. He had received a statement from a great number of respectable manufacturers, in which they pointed out their distresses as not arising out of the conduct of Government, but from the state of their trade with foreign nations. America was *similarly situated*, so were all parts of Europe. It was impossible but after the twenty years war in which this country had been engaged, and which had convulsed the whole of Europe, a great change would not be produced. This was felt more or less in different countries, as the Noble Marquis would find, if he took the trouble to inform himself on the subject ; but in *no country was this distress so severely felt as in the United States of America* ; he was sorry for this, as this country was a great sufferer by it. This was a circumstance which ought to be fully made known both in and out of doors. In America were to be found principles of Reform similar to those attempted to be introduced into this country. There they had *no King—no Nobles—no Established Church—no Tithes*. They had too—what was called *equal representation*—and we were told that they had no taxes ; yet that country was more distressed than this, in which all those establishments existed. He did not urge this as a matter of blame against the American Government—it arose from a cause simple, plain, and intelligible. During the last twenty years of war that country was the only neutral power. She had therefore a monopoly of the whole of the carrying trade of Europe. In consequence of this she made

"greater progress in twenty years  
 "than she could in six, under ordi-  
 "nary circumstances. But now that  
 "Europe was at peace America was  
 "deprived of the greater portion of  
 "that trade; it was impossible that a  
 "country so circumstanced should not  
 "go back, and suffer for a time. He  
 "hoped that suffering would be short,  
 "as it affected this country consider-  
 "ably. This country had also, within  
 "the same period, increased in wealth  
 "and commerce; it had also, within  
 "the last sixty years, increased its  
 "population more than it had done  
 "for the last six centuries before.  
 "What was the consequence? Having  
 "all the advantages of trade, machi-  
 "nery was introduced, by which ten  
 "times the quantity of work was  
 "done with an infinitely less number  
 "of hands. This had a tendency to  
 "create *sometimes* a glut of our  
 "manufacturers, and at *others* a want  
 "of employment.—The Noble Lord,  
 "after some observations on the late  
 "reduction in the army, and after  
 "having pointed out the evil of crea-  
 "ting a distrust of Parliament in the  
 "minds of the people, asked whether  
 "the spirit of disaffection which was  
 "known to exist had any reference  
 "to these subjects?"

To this I will add an extract from  
 the Report of a speech of Lord  
 Castlereagh on the same subject:  
 "Into the causes of the discontent  
 "and dissatisfaction which prevailed  
 "among its inhabitants, he did not  
 "feel inclined to enter at present; on  
 "a future occasion, he should not  
 "shrink from discussing them; but  
 "all that he should now say was, that  
 "as far his inquiries went (and they  
 "had not been scanty), the market  
 "for industry had not been narrowed  
 "either at home or abroad. At  
 "home, indeed, every man who was  
 "at all acquainted with the march of  
 "our affairs, the increase of our po-  
 "pulation, and consequently the in-  
 "crease of its wants, must be aware  
 "that it had considerably increased:  
 "that it had suffered no diminution,  
 "in a country which these

"wiseacres held up as an object of  
 "imitation to their own, which, they  
 "maintained, had a Government all  
 "perfect and complete—which, though  
 "it had recently been suffering under  
 "as great commercial embarrassment  
 "as their own, they represented as a  
 "perfect paradise—he meant *America*.  
 "There, indeed, the market had been  
 "narrowed, though no where in Eu-  
 "rope, if he might trust the infor-  
 "mation which he had received. The  
 "causes of the distress which now ex-  
 "isted were not by any means such  
 "as these infatuated people supposed  
 "them to be: time was the only  
 "cure for them; and no sensible man  
 "would tell them (for no sensible  
 "man could himself believe) that  
 "Parliament could remove them by  
 "its interference, much less such a  
 "Parliament as they themselves  
 "would appoint."

Now, my Lord, before I come to  
 the observations which I intend to  
 make as to the causes of the distresses  
 of the country, give me leave to  
 answer what is said in these extracts  
 with regard to the distresses, or, ra-  
 ther, the supposed distresses, in the  
 United States of America. Your  
 Lordship is made to say that in "no  
 "country was the distress so severely  
 "felt as in the United States of Ame-  
 "rica." The same is said, in sub-  
 stance, in the report of the speech of  
 your colleague. I do not accuse your  
 Lordship of wilful falsehood; but I  
 can assure you that this report will do  
 great discredit to your Lordship in  
 that country. In the United States of  
 America, there is nothing of that de-  
 scription; nothing of that sort of  
 thing, which, in England, is called  
 distress. The city of New York  
 contains, they say, a population of  
 about a hundred and thirty thousand  
 souls. And I take upon me to say  
 that it does not contain one single  
 creature, black or white, so much in  
 distress as the average of our common  
 labourers and working manufacturers  
 are at this day. I have heard persons  
 say, that they have, during a course  
 of years, seen a beggar or two in the

"discontent  
 "would not the  
 "all to the



city of New York. I never saw one there in my life; but, during the latter part of the last Summer, I have seen a considerable quantity of offal meat left upon the shambles, after the market was over, for any body to take away that chose to take it away. I, myself, bought there as fat lamb as I ever saw, giving a dollar and a half for a whole lamb, weighing six-and-thirty pounds. The price of mutton, wether mutton, was less than two-pence sterling a pound. Hog-meat (fatted upon Indian Corn) was seven cents, or, about three pence three farthings a pound English money. Beef (as fine you will observe as what is killed in London) was, the best joints, the same. Bread, a little more than half the London price, and greatly superior in point of quality. At this time, and at the same place, no labourer was to be had, not even a newly arrived Irish emigrant, under three quarters of a dollar a day. Thus, then, the labourer at New York could obtain the price of more than ten pounds of pork for every day that he chose to work. Does your Lordship call this *distress*? Would to God that once happy England exhibited to the world such marks of misery and wretchedness!

But, we are told, that many of the English emigrants have returned back. I took the pains to ascertain the facts relative to this measure before my departure for England; and I state upon authority of the best kind, that, out of seven and twenty thousand who, during the last twelve months, have arrived at the port of New York from the King's European dominions, *eleven hundred only* have returned; and, which is a thing wholly overlooked, great numbers of these are men who, after having examined the country, have returned back in order to take out their wives, children and relations, two men of which description were on board the ship in which I came home. However, it is not so very surprising that there should be one out of thirty, who, happening to arrive in the heat of the summer

should take fright and return. There are the caprices and the hankerings of women to be attended to. There are divers circumstances which would cause a return of one out of thirty without leaving room for any sensible man to draw, from such return, any conclusion unfavourable to the general state of that country.

The advantages which America presents to persons who are wholly out of trade or business, and who wish to live at their ease, and still to preserve their fortunes for their children, are so great, that a person who has not actually witnessed them, can hardly believe in their reality. In a neat country house, at the distance of from three to ten miles of the city of New York, a family, of moderate size, may be maintained in the style becoming a gentleman, for a less sum annually than the assessed taxes and the poor-rates paid by such a family in England. The manner of living, too, is so widely different. From seven hundred to nine hundred dollars, that is to say, about two hundred pounds, will give a man a good country house, garden, pasture, orchard, plenty of space for horses and cows, with coach-house, stables and all sorts of conveniences, not forgetting dogs and sports of the field; not less than a pair of horses with one or two convenient carriages; with a great variety of meat, fowl and fish, with wines of all sorts, and, if he chooses, London porter, if he does not like the beer that is made in the country and which is better than the London porter. Claret at an English seven-pence a bottle; Port-wine at an English shilling; Madeira wine in the same proportion; French brandy at about a dollar and a half a gallon; and the common spirits of the country are actually to be bought at about twenty English pence a gallon, that is to say, four English quarts or eight English pints. While every article of dress, common to England is (all except the labour bestowed in the making it) cheaper than in England, and while the silks and laces from France and the silks and beautiful

dresses that come from India and China are sold at a rate so cheap as to make the fine main-street at New York surpass, as to the brilliancy of female dresses, any of the ball-rooms that are ever to be seen in England, with the exception of those where aristocracy brings forth its family trinkets into play. The finest streets in London; the malls, the parks, the gardens are, as to female dresses, a scene of meanness and shabbiness compared to Broad-way in New York.

This, my Lord, is the real state of a commercial town in America; and which commercial town, too, had, at the very time that I am speaking of, experienced a monstrous deal of that sort of distress which had put the discounting and accommodation gentlemen to flight, and had, thanks be to God, shut many of their shops up for ever. But, as to the *country*, as to the farmers of which America is wholly almost composed; as to the working people all through the country, what distress had they felt? They knew nothing, either of poor-rates or of paupers. All that I paid for a farm of three hundred acres, in taxes of every sort, were fifteen dollars and a half for myself and the like sum for my landlord; a part of this went to the maintenance of the government; a part of it to keep the roads in excellent repair; a part to maintain the schools in the township; and, I suppose, out of the whole, four or five dollars might be required towards the maintenance of the free negroes who are unable or unwilling to work; for, during the whole of my residence in Long Island I never set my eyes on a white pauper, except one Englishman, a native of Hull, as he told me, who seemed to have drunked himself half to death and to whom I gave half a dollar to take him to the overseers of Flushing. It is curious enough that this man had straggled down from Canada, and was, as he told me, formerly the Editor of a ministerial newspaper at Hull. In all probability the whiskey would soon put an end to him; and at any rate, this was the only white

pauper I ever saw in Long Island; and the only one I ever heard of.

Now, then, my Lord, if your Lordship has been told that there is great distress in America, the persons who have given you that information must have wilfully deceived you. Nevertheless, for about two months ending with the middle or latter end of August, there was a great derangement of the affairs of trade and of labour in the state of New York, and in almost every part of the United States; but particularly near the great cities and towns which are affected by commercial relationships. This arose from a cause which I am now about to endeavour to describe, and to which your Lordship will do well to attend; because the elucidation of this matter will enable you to get at clear notions as to one branch, at least, of those inextricable difficulties in which you and your colleagues have twisted yourselves up.

There has existed, since the peace, no law in America to protect any Bank against the payment of its notes in specie. No, my Lord, it would have been a pity to see this noble system rivaled by any other in the famous work of making Bank-Restriction Acts. The American Governments, State Governments as well as General Government, had seen the consequences which this had produced in England; and therefore, in spite of all the intrigues and all the ingenious contrivances of that race of robbers called Bankers, they wisely resolved not to restrict the rogues, but to leave them to their creditors and to the law; or, at least, to expose none but their dupes to suffer from their villainies. Nevertheless, such is the greediness of commercial men; such is their everlasting desire to be trading, whether they have any thing to trade on or not, and such is the facility of lending any thing which is called money, that numerous Banks still existed all over the United States. An immense quantity of worthless paper got on float; or, rather, was kept on float after the ter-



mination of the war. Worthless as it was, it composed a part of the circulating medium; and tended to keep up prices to the standard of the late war in Europe. But, in the month of May the bubble began to burst, and before the middle of July a very considerable portion of this paper was totally annihilated. This caused an instant reduction in prices; and spread great ruin amongst those who had been so indiscreet as to borrow paper-money and who had now to pay real money in its stead, at the rate of nearly two bushels of wheat for one. The building of new houses instantly came to a stand in the Cities and Towns; goods of all sorts were driven rattling to the hammer; and numerous persons in the vicinity of the haunts of commerce were, for the moment, thrown out of employment. But (and I beg your Lordship to mark it well) the embarrassment, as far as affected labour, did not last two months. Wages came down, though not at the same rate as provisions had come down; great numbers of labourers and working trades-men went forth into the country in all directions; and all the apprehensions that had been entertained in the month of July, had totally vanished long before the last day of October. House-rent at New York had fallen in price one half; food had fallen in price in the same proportion; and it was impossible to perceive, in the state of the people any alteration as to dress or content. But, the cause of this sudden adjustment of the affairs of the community; or, rather, the cause of the derangement of the paper-money affair not having produced any lasting distress, was, that there was no tax-gatherer to come and demand great sums from the people. There was no sinecure placeman to come and take two hundred bushels of wheat where he had before taken but one hundred bushels of wheat. There were no persons, like the executors of Burke, to come and still to demand the twenty-five hundred pounds sterling a year, when that would have

been really twice as much in October as it would have been in the previous month of March. This is the cause, my Lord, of the happiness of America; this is the reason why even the bursting of a paper-bubble affects not the prosperity of the great mass of her citizens. And the paper bubble of England, with all its frippery, all its Babylonish jargon, all its plates, steel as well as copper, might be swept away without producing more than a few weeks of inconsiderable inconvenience, and without producing any political consequences at all, any discontent on the part of the people, any alarm on the part of the Government, were it not for that enormous taxation, which, with steady step and iron grasp thrusts onward in its progress, whether prices be high or low, whether money be plenty or scarce, whether the payer be rich or poor.

Thus, then, my Lord, though a great Doctor in politics, and of very long experience, you have clearly misunderstood the case of your Trans-Atlantic patient, whom you have supposed to be in a consumption, while she really has been troubled only with a fit of the cholic. I dare not say that your Lordship is ignorant as to a science with regard to which you ought to be so profoundly skilled; but, I venture to say, that the apothecaries who have reported the case to you are poor ignorant quacks, or have wilfully furnished you with falsehoods. Lord Castlereagh seems to have come to the same decision as your Lordship upon this illness of America; and he thinking, doubtless, that, as neither of you had any remedy to propose for the distress of your own country, it would be impertinent in the extreme to pretend to prescribe for America, very piously offers up his prayers for the speedy restoration of the last-mentioned country; and, I can assure his Lordship, that, as far as I am able to judge of the matter, the people of America would much rather have the benefit of his prayers than that of any measures which he would be likely to propose for adoption by their rulers.

So much, my Lord, as to the fact of America being in a state of distress: let me now examine the reasoning of your Lordship and of your noble and worthy colleague upon the subject; and here we shall come to the application of the Fable, and see, before we have done, how extremely clear are your notions of this matter; how consistent your present views are with your views of a recent date; and what a lively hope we have reason to entertain from the measures likely to proceed from the "Statesman-like" glimpse you now take through the gloom.

My Lord, you now tell us that the cause of our distress is such that it cannot be removed even by a Parliament which has been able to perform, amongst other feats, the mighty ones which I have above mentioned. This cause of distress, you say, is, that the nation had monstrously increased in population, commerce and manufactures, during the late war. That, peace having come, the nation must, in those respects, go back; and that, by its thus going back, distress must be created. It is in illustration of this argument; or, rather, in proof of the truth of it, that you and your noble colleague produce what you call the distress of America; which I contend to be no distress at all; and which, if it were distress, would be a proof of the truth of your argument with regard to England.

At the beginning of the distress, that is to say, soon after the peace had been concluded, I said, over and over again in my Register, what you have now said with regard to a necessary retrograde movement as to manufactures and commerce. I have not the book by me, but I pledge myself to produce the extract and insert it in another Register; and in that extract will be found precisely what you and your noble colleague have now uttered with regard to this retrograde movement. The nation was at that time drunk with joy; there were hundreds of thousands of rabble following the heels of old Blücher

and the Kings; shouting and bellowing like brutes; while the malignant enemies of our freedom were spitting forth their triumphant sarcasms upon my predictions as to the evil consequences which would arise from the hundreds of millions expended for the restoration of the Bourbons. Then it was, my Lord, in that moment of gloom to me that I told the drunken rout to shout and huzza and halloo and bellow forth the last breath in their lungs; for, that those were the last days of their rejoicing. I then told them that commerce, that manufactures, that trade, that traffic, that the use of money, that gain of all sorts would begin instantly to revert to their former channels; that the war had been a peculiar war; that the peace would be a peculiar peace; that it would bring poverty in place of riches; hunger in place of plenty; and, that either the Income Tax must be kept on; that loans must be made in time of peace, or that there must be no standing army or the Debt must be nearly annihilated. Who was right and who wrong as to those matters, time has already decided.

But, my Lord, it is your conclusion, drawn from this argument taken from my Register, that I object to. You say (and so says your noble colleague) that time only; that time can and will cure the evils arising from this cause; this retrograde movement of commerce and manufactures. Lord Castlereagh is reported to have jeered a little, the "wise-acres" who have cited America as an instance of the happiness arising from equal representation! No person that I ever heard of has ever ascribed the happiness of America to the form of her government; to her having, as your Lordship triumphantly observes, no "King, no Lords, no Established Church." So far from my ever having ascribed the happiness of America to have arisen from this cause, I have expressly asserted over and over again that her happiness arises from no such cause; that it arises from an absence of grinding taxation, and that the same absence



of grinding taxation in England would render England happier than America without any alteration at all in the form of her government or in the Law of the Land. So that your Lordship and your noble colleague have, as far as I am concerned, either misunderstood or misrepresented me. You have proceeded upon a principle put forward by a detected embezzler whom I once knew, namely, the "*principle of mistake*;" and yet, your noble colleague ought to have been careful to make an exception, at the least, with regard to me, seeing that he has thought proper to describe me as the person whose writings have had the greatest share in what he calls the deluding of the people of this country.

It is to time; good old Time with his wings and his scythe; the "*healing hand of time*," as the late Speaker told us, and as you and your colleague now tell us, that we are to look for a cure for the dreadful malady that now afflicts us. First, my Lord, let me observe, the change of tone which your language and that of your colleague has gradually assumed, since the memorable Session when three millions (I think it was) were voted, amidst cheering and shouting, to build triumphal arches and monuments of *glorious success*; and when Mr. Tierney, his eye, as I once before observed, "*in a fine fit of phrensy rolling*," proposed the building (in addition I believe to the arches and the columns) three "*Solemn Temples*," in everlasting commemoration of the stabbings and shootings and blowings up and tearings to pieces of three most bloody battles. It was during that most memorable Session, when that other bright star of the ministerial constellation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, averred that the way to ensure for ever the prosperity of the country, was to continue to collect fourteen millions a year as a Sinking Fund, which fourteen millions were to shed a blessing upon the people and monstrously to increase the wealth of the nation by being first raised in taxes upon the people and

then *lent* back to the people by the Fund-holders, and which fourteen millions, in order to restore the nation to prosperity, have now been reduced to two millions; it was in that memorable Session, so full of projects of all sorts; commutation of tythes, taxing of seeds and butter and eggs coming from abroad, setting up public granaries, taking the farmer's corn in pawn, not to mention one quarter part of the endless progeny that came from the fertile brains of Messrs. Western and Curwen: it was in that memorable Session of the Right Honourable and Honourable Houses, when there was prevalent that delightful diversification and confusion of ideas that inhabit the minds of men when they see the lights dance before them: it was during that memorable Session that your noble colleague dinned in our ears from January to June the assertion that the *only cause* of the distress (which had then begun to appear) was, that there had been a *sudden transition from war to peace*; that there was an overflow of money which had been stopped in its passage through the usual channels; that, not having yet found new channels, embarrassment had arisen as to the manner of employing it; that new channels would very soon be found out, and that then there would be an end of the distress! This was uttered, too, with so much self-complacency: in this sort of way, "*every one at all acquainted with political science*." As much as to say that *he* was well acquainted with this science, and that few others were. But, my Lord Liverpool, what is become of this doctrine now! Where is *now* the proof of the sagacity and profundity of this noble colleague of yours? Now, it seems, the thing is not so very temporary! The *sudden transition* from war to peace has, it seems, been producing distress for five years; and, at the end of the five years, it is discovered that the cause of the distress is a retrograde movement in commerce and manufactures; it is discovered that the nation during the war had got

so very far, that it must now *go back*. It is now discovered, at the end of five years, that that is true, which I said at the beginning of the five years. And, my Lord, I do assure you that if I had been a Member of Parliament five years ago, the world should have cried shame upon this nation if the Parliament had not even then begun to adopt measures to meet the effects of this retrograde movement and to prevent the possibility of the existence of the present calamities.

It is very curious, that, even at the time that I now am referring to, and before that time; so early as 1814 and 1815, I, upon several occasions, addressing myself to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, told him that the evils which were then approaching him were such as were not to be cured by dungeon-bills and dragoons! It is very singular, my Lord; but this is really the fact, which I will show, another time, by quoting the very words. Over and over again, in the most serious and earnest manner, I besought him to believe me that the distresses, which would arise out of his neglect to adopt, immediately, efficient measures as to the burthens of the country, would never be cured, would never be put an end to, by restrictions on the press, or by bills about sedition and about treason. I saw, even so far back as that time, that, if efficient measures were not adopted, with regard to the Debt and the Paper-money, the nation would be plunged into suffering indescribable. I knew it to be impossible to go on in time of peace with that monster of a Debt which had been created during the war. I knew that it would be impossible to attempt to pay in specie, unless the interest of the Debt, the expences of the Standing Army, the out-goings on account of Sinecures, Penalties, Grants and Places, were all greatly reduced previous to such attempt. I knew that it would be impossible, unless these previous steps were taken, to attempt to pay in specie, without plunging the nation into the very state in which we now behold it; and therefore, I used every

argument that my mind could suggest in order to induce the Government to adopt such steps. Nothing was done: the omnipotent Parliament did nothing: the Parliament which could raise a thousand millions in taxes and create eight hundred millions of Debt during one single war, was unable or unwilling to take one single step in the way of guarding against calamities, which I, at any rate, proclaimed as being inevitable.

The distress went pressing onwards through the years 1815 and 1816. The Bank was to pay in specie at the termination of the war. The war had terminated. The Bank did not pay. Yet it was obvious that unless it was enabled to pay within a few years, there must be a blowing up of some sort or other. It was obvious that this nation never could go on for any great length of time with a paper-money notoriously irredeemable in specie: with a paper-money which had become a legal tender, and which, in the end, must, if left to itself, produce universal confusion. During the years 1815 and 1816, an attempt was therefore made to come up to the mark of payments in specie. That attempt produced the miseries of 1816, and those miseries produced the memorable Bills of 1817. Yet those Bills produced no alleviation of the burden: not one atom of security to the Government; and now it is openly acknowledged, that the minds of the people are far more alienated from the present system than they ever were.

Now, then, my Lord, why are we to expect any thing from *time*? If the great cause of the distress be the retrograde movement of commerce and manufactures; if the nation has to *go back*, it has to remain at the point to which it will go back. And if it has to remain at that point of backwardness, where do you and your noble colleague find grounds of hope from the workings of time? All that time can do is to bring us quite back to the point from which we started; and therefore it is impossible



to suppose that time will add to the means of recovery from distress.

But, how clear does this become, when we take into view a particular part of the grounds of this reliance upon time? It is said, both by you and your colleague, that this country suffers in part, because America is suffering; and that when time has restored America to prosperity, our prosperity will, in part, at least, return. I have shown that America is now in a state of real prosperity; but what you mean is, that she will, with the assistance of time, possess a greater quantity of means of purchasing goods from us than she now possesses. It would be very curious, my Lord, to behold a strict comparison between what I have recently said in my Registers upon this subject, and what you and your colleague have now said. During the three Registers, which I sent last from America, I treated of this matter, and I observed that the great change which had taken place there would certainly add to the embarrassment of the non-reforming system in England. All the information which I communicated upon this subject *thus far*, you and your colleague have very freely made use of. But, you have chosen to add a corollary of your own, and with this corollary the blunder begins. You add, after having made use of my facts, that what you call the prosperity of America will be restored, and that then (oh, day of hope!) the distress will in great part, be removed from England.

If there were any foundation for this hope; if there were any thing but childish delusion in it; if it were suited to any place but the regions of the 'Change and the Alley; if it were becoming the lips of men having the smallest pretensions to political knowledge, should not we, the people of England have a right to say that this great and famous country ought not to have been brought into such a state as to make its prosperity depend upon the prosperity of any other country in the world or of all other

countries put together? Should we not have a right to say to those who have had our purses and our persons at their absolute command; to those who have done with us and with our country just what they pleased; to those who have passed Dungeon-Bills, Bank-Restriction Acts and Acts of Indemnity; should we not have a right to say to them, how comes it that you have made our happiness depend upon the happiness of any other country; how comes it that you have put us in the power of the rulers of other states; and subjected us to the evil-consequences of their want of wisdom or want of virtue? But, the fact is wholly unfounded. That which you call prosperity in America and which you think will be restored to our advantage, *will never be restored*. America has gone back only a part of the way yet. She has much further back to go. Her prices are not yet come down to the lowest mark. Her commercial haunts are not yet depopulated so much as they will be. She has yet (thanks be to that God who has given us hearts to love freedom and virtue!) to see hundreds of her ships converted into fire-wood, and thousands upon thousands of her discounting and accommodation tribes, together with their clerks, porters and footmen driven back to the fields to hoe corn and tend upon the cattle. She is not come down yet to the point at which she is in this respect to remain. As to real prosperity; as to real happiness; as to every thing truly valuable, she goes on increasing; but as to every thing connected with foreign commerce; as to all the grounds of your hope and that of your colleague, she goes on regularly decreasing. "Let any man at all acquainted with political science," judge from a fact or two, which I will here state. At New York there was, before I came away, an *Emigration Society* formed; that is to say, a Society for promoting emigration from the City of New York and its neighbourhood to the state of Ohio! A considerable sum had been

collected; agents had been appointed to go and survey the country and purchase lands to an immense extent; and a gentleman who took great interest in the matter, told me, in the month of September, and with great exultation, that he hoped soon to see the whole race of discounters and accommodators, and retailers of British goods, sent back to the woods, to lead honest lives and to be animated by the glorious sun that never stopped payment. My Lord, what I state here *must be true*; I well know that this will be read at New York, where I have numerous friends, and where, rather than pass for a liar, I would lose my life. I do assure your Lordship that this work of quitting the haunts of commerce is going on all over the country. Prices will not revive in America. Provisions having become extremely low in price will render wages low in price. There will be less money moving about, or less of what passes for money; and, in whatever degree that quantity is diminished, the demand for English goods will be diminished, and permanently diminished. Taking America as a whole; considering her as one merchant, she has been trading, in her affairs with England, upon *tick*; she has been trading with accommodation paper: that sort of trade will almost wholly cease, and a great part of her custom will cease accordingly. How, then, is time to do any thing for us in that quarter of the world? What probability is there that she will be a better customer next year than she has been this? On the contrary, is there not good reason to suppose that the demand of next year will fall greatly short of that of the present year? In short, it is notorious that the ships now lying at Liverpool, bound to New York, have scarcely a bale of goods to carry, and are going out with coals in their hulls to keep them from being blown over and swamped in their passage.

Thus, then, away flies, like the morning mists before the sun, all your delusive hopes of assistance from old father Time, who, so far from being at work for your system is at work against your system, as he has been during the last five years, and as he necessarily must be, until a great alteration be made in that system. In the Hampshire Peerage I, at a public meeting, held on a Hill, on the 15th of February, 1817, which Petition I had the honour to be appointed to draw up, the whole case of the people of England was stated to the House of Commons. That Petition stands now upon record in the votes of that House; and, if the

prayer of that Petition were now to be acted upon, tranquillity, harmony, respect for all the branches of the Government, would be instantly restored. All alarms would be instantly dissipated, and, in less than one year, public prosperity, individual happiness and almost total abolition of pauperism would take place, and England would once more make, in the world, the figure which she heretofore has made. But, it appears to me to be clear as the Sun at noon day, that unless something very much unlike the prayer of that Petition be acted upon, the miseries of this once happy England, are, as yet, but merely beginning, though my Lord Grenville has said that the country is now in a more alarming state than he has ever known it to be in before.

My Lord, your noble colleague has said, that the Parliament can do nothing to remove the distress, and that *particularly such a Parliament as the Reformers call for* could do nothing to remove it. Now, let me first observe, that the distress is by no means the primary cause of the discontents of the people; and this, indeed, has been acknowledged most distinctly by my Lord Grenville, who has said that the discontents have their origin in a cause which existed before the French Revolution. It is not I; it is not Mr. Hunt; it is not any other person now living, with whom the putting forward of this cause of Reform originated. The great mass of the Reformers were not born at the time of the origin of that cause, which has descended to them from father to son. This, therefore, and not the distresses of the country, is the great standing ground of discontent; and so firmly am I convinced that the mere bodily sufferings of the people are a nothing compared to this ground of discontent, that, I verily believe, that if his Royal Highness had been advised to say in his speech to the Parliament that he wished them to take into their consideration the question of Reform, the whole country would now have been as tranquil as ever it was at any one period of its history. I mean a mere simple recommendation that the Parliament would entertain the question and give it a calm and dispassionate discussion. This is the opinion of every man that I spoke with upon the subject from the Docks at Liverpool to the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. We will suppose, for argument's sake, that a Reform would do no good. My opinion is directly the contrary (I beg you to observe that); but, for argument's sake, allow that it would do no good, still, would it not have been right to take into consideration a thing prayed for, most earnestly prayed for, by three fourths, at least, of the active persons in the kingdom? How fully persuaded the people are that a Reform would be productive of happiness to the country is clearly demonstrated in the reception which the people have given to me. What has entitled me to their notice? Without riches; with the reputation of extreme poverty; notoriously without the



power of conferring the smallest pecuniary favour upon any creature; totally unknown to any part of the people in any of the counties through which I have come, except through the means of my writings: and yet I have received written addresses with a greater number of names to them than, perhaps, were ever signed to all the addresses put together that any man in England ever before received. Nearly fifty thousand names were subscribed to addresses in Lancashire; and I have this day received from Yorkshire, dated from Leeds, an Address with many many thousand names subscribed to it. These Yorkshiremen tell me that they owe to me the enlightening of their minds; that they have admired my perseverance in the Cause of Reform: that their hopes of final success are strengthened by my return; and that they have the greatest confidence in the exertions which I shall be able to make to restore them to happiness and to preserve the Constitution of this Kingdom, of this their country, which they ardently love, and for my unalterable attachment to which, they are unalterably attached to me.

I say, my Lord, that you have here in these facts alone, a proof of the ardent desire which the people have to see a Reform in the Parliament, and how fully they are persuaded that such Reform would restore them to happiness. The Dinner at the Crown and Anchor, upon my arrival, is another proof. What should induce four hundred persons to give five shillings and six-pence each merely to meet me, to eat a little bit of meat and bread, and to drink water? What should induce as many more to offer their money upon the occasion, and to go away regretting that there was not room for them. It has been hinted by several persons that I, amongst others, am actuated by ambitious motives; but, while I deny the right of any one to exclude me from the right of entertaining such motives as well as other men, what further can I want to gratify feelings of ambition?

It is very clear, then, first, that even the recommendation, on the part of the Prince to the Parliament, to take into consideration the question of Reform, would, at once, allay the ferment which has created so much alarm; second, it is clear that time can do nothing, of itself, in the way of diminishing the distress; and, it is equally clear to me, that a Reformed Parliament would have it completely in its power, not only to induce the people patiently to wait for the removal of the distress, but also, to remove it completely, and to settle the affairs of the country in such a way as to make the people happy and the Constitution, in King, Lords and Commons, secure. In another Letter I shall endeavour to show your Lordship that the opinion of your colleague with regard to the effect of taxation upon the people is erroneous, and to convince you, that, until a very large part of the taxation be removed, there cannot be the smallest hope of a restoration of that tranquillity and prosperity,

which, in spite of all anger and all prejudice, I am well persuaded your Lordship firmly believes me sincerely to wish to see my country enjoy.

I cannot conclude, my Lord, without once more adverting to that part of your speech and the speech of Lord Castlereagh, wherein you, in strains of great triumph observe that there is distress in America, notwithstanding there is no King, no Lords, and no Established Church. I have exposed most fully, your error as to the fact of distress; but, my Lord, have I ever said that the distress in England arose from the existence of the King, the Lords, and the Church? Have I not repeatedly, in my appeals to these very Reformers who are now addressing me, told them not to be amused with names; not to conclude that a people was free and happy merely because the Government was called a Republic? Have I not repeatedly told them to recollect that if their country was the most famous and the most powerful in the world, it had acquired that fame and power under a Government of King, Lords and Commons; has not this always been my language, whether I was writing from abroad or writing from at home; and have I not, since my arrival in the country, told the people of Lancashire in answer to an Address over-flowing with the kindest feelings towards myself, that that part of their Address which expresses their firm attachment to the present form of government has given me more pleasure than any other part of that affectionate document, telling them at the same time that to introduce a republican government into England would be the surest way of rendering ruin and degradation permanent? Your Lordship can deny the truth of none of this. Your colleague can deny the truth of none of it. Upon what ground, then, is it pretended to be believed that the Reformers ascribe the present distress to the existing form of Government? Upon what ground is it pretended to be believed, that those who seek a Reform in words have a Revolution at the bottom of their hearts? Whence proceeds the unmanly hint that my publication is seditious and blasphemous: that I am the principal author of the evils which are to be provided against; that I am the great propagator of discontent, disobedience to the laws, disaffection to the Constitution, and disloyalty to the King? No, no, my Lord: not a man in the kingdom believes this or any part of it; but most men believe that I possess great influence over the minds of the people, that I am firmly convinced that a Reform of the Parliament ought to take place, and that, unless, by some means or other, I can be silenced, that Reform will take place.

I perceive, that the word Reform does not excite quite so much apparent horror in certain minds as it has hitherto excited. I am not without hope that those who have the power of controlling completely the hands, will yet be disposed to contribute. I most earnestly pray God that they may

and that this, our once free and happy country, may be rendered as firm and united in mind as it has been made safe and strong by the hand of nature. Leading a life of sobriety and industry, I have had a great deal of time to bestow upon reflecting on the means by which the country is to be saved. The wish nearest my heart is, to see England happy, free, powerful and dreaded by all other nations. I can see her substance fast wasting away; I can see the fruits of past industry passing into other States; I can see the industry itself passing away into those States; and I am firmly persuaded, that unless efficient remedies be speedily applied, this country hitherto so famed in the world, will become one of the most despicable and feeble of nations. To prevent this I shall not fail to do all that shall lie in my power; and if my endeavours should be wholly unavailing, I will take care that it shall be said of me that I had no hand in the ruin and degradation of England.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient  
and most humble servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

#### TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

If the intended Law relative to the Press should be passed before the next Register be printed, the Register will come out with a stamp. I have received several communications pointing out in what manner the stamp might be evaded; and I should think it quite right to evade it, if the advantage surpassed the disadvantage in point of magnitude. But, I see so many difficulties in the way of an unstamped Register, that I cannot think of encountering them. It is very certain that the out-lets to true information will now be nearly closed up: but, the bird has flown: let Sidmouth, Castlereagh and Canning, catch political knowledge and bring her back to be shut up if they can. I think I see them now, each stooping down with his arm poked out before him, creeping along to see if they can put salt upon her tail! Faith! she has long been far beyond their reach; she has charmed the "Lower Orders" with her song; she has warmed their hearts in the cause of Reform and her melodious notes still vibrate on their ears, and will vibrate on the ears of their children. The price at which the Register will be sold, I am not yet fixed. There being no advertisements, the price must be comparatively high; but there are two objects to secure; information to the people and to myself security against loss of my time. I have no desire to get any thing beyond what is necessary to secure to myself the power of being useful.

#### TO MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT, NEW YORK.

MY DEAR JAMES,

You know that the reason for my departure from New York so much sooner than I should have done was, that I was summoned as a witness in the trial of an action, which

Wright had brought against Mr. Dolby, the publisher of the Register. You recollect that word was sent to me that Wright had been extremely urgent, in July, to push on the cause to Trial, and that it was with great difficulty that the Judges were prevailed upon to put it off until now. When I got here the cause stood for trial; notice of trial had been given; the defendant had pleaded a justification; but, all of a sudden, this urgent plaintiff, Wright, has *withdrawn the record*; that is to say, has given up the action. The action was brought, you will recollect, against Mr. Dolby for matter contained in the Political Register published by him (being No. 24 of volume thirty-four) relative to Wright, Cleary and the Westminster Rump, and a pretended letter of mine read by Cleary at the Westminster Election.

You shall hear more of this another time. It forms a pretty little episode in the grand drama that is now going on here, and at which your good neighbours will stare.—These are the times, as Mr. Paine said, when he was rallying the brave Americans round Washington's standard, "these are the times 'to try men's souls';" and I will assure you, my dear James, I have seen, since my arrival, a good deal of this sort of trial. About four hundred men came to the Crown and Anchor to honour me with a most enthusiastic welcome, and, amongst the whole I saw but four or five faces of which I had any recollection. These times blow away all the chaff and leave nothing but the solid grain.—All the tribe of little envious beings that used so to infest me are gone, and are no more heard of. I shall send you a report of the Dinner proceedings. You will find it in Mr. Clement's Monday Observer; but, even there they have omitted to insert a report of a most eloquent speech, delivered by Mr. Wooler, in which that gentleman took an opportunity to make, in that public manner, a frank and manly acknowledgment of his former error with regard to me. Mr. Wooler is a man of real talent; and, if he keep aloof from the envious, talentless wretches, who would wheedle in order to destroy him, he will, I am convinced, prove valuable to his country in this her hour of severe trial.

God bless you.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S.—I am in great hopes, my dear little boy, that the sobriety which you have always seen me practice will be speedily general with all the good people in this country. It is my most earnest advice for all reasons (as well as that it is the best means of putting an end to Corruption), to abstain from exciseable articles. I have promised to point out substitutes to use in place of those articles which cannot well be done without. For the purpose of assisting to carry this desirable object into effect, I am going to attend a public meeting on Monday, to be held at the Crown and Anchor, called for the purpose of preventing idleness, drunkenness and gambling.